

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 110019  
ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY NSC  
APPROVED BY THE SECRETARY  
AF/S:JDAVIDOW;DKPETTERSON  
IO/UNP;TNILES  
AF;WCHARROP  
S/P;MSPIEGESUBSB  
NSC;THORNTON  
S/S-0 SGOLDSMITH  
-----115487 291627Z /65  
O 291559Z APR 78 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA NIACT IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110019

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS - 1

TAGS: RH, PDEV

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S KAUNDA'S LETTER

1. PLEASE MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING  
LETTER TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT.

2. IN DELIVERING THE LETTER YOU SHOULD MAKE THE FOLLOWING  
POINTS ON NAMIBIA:

A. WE CAN NOT OVEREMPHASIZE THE DEPTH OF OUR CONCERN THAT  
SWAPO'S RECALCITRANT ATTITUDE MIGHT CAUSE A REAL OPPORTUNITY  
FOR A NEGOTIATED AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE NAMIBIAN  
PROBLEM TO BE BOOTED AWAY.

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B. IT IS PROBABLE THAT THE FIVE POWERS WILL MAKE A JOINT  
APPROACH TO THE GOVERNMENT OF ZAMBIA IN THE NEAR FUTURE  
ON THIS ISSUE, BUT WE FELT IT IMPERATIVE TO LET PRESIDENT  
KAUNDA KNOW ABOUT THE SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH NUJOMA  
OF APRIL 27.

3. DEPARTMENT HAS NOT PROVIDED YOU WITH SPECIFIC TALKING POINTS ON RHODESIA AS WE BELIEVE THAT KAUNDA'S LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT DOES NOT REQUIRE MORE RESPONSE THAN THAT CONTAINED IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S REPLY. HOWEVER, AT YOUR DISCRETION, FEEL FREE TO DRAW UPON THE TALKING POINTS PROVIDED FOR AMB. SPAIN'S USE IN DELIVERING LETTER TO NYERERE (SEPTTEL) AND YOUR OWN EXPERIENCE TO REINFORCE POINTS MADE IN PRESIDENT CARTER'S LETTER.

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BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 15. THERE IS MUCH UPON WHICH WE AGREE, AND I APPRECIATE YOUR WILLINGNESS TO SHARE YOUR VIEWS WITH ME.

BEFORE ADDRESSING YOUR THOUGHTS ON RHODESIA, I WANT TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF NAMIBIA, WHICH STANDS NOW AT A CRITICAL POINT. BECAUSE THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT HAS AGREED TO THE PROPOSAL OF THE WESTERN FIVE, THE OPPORTUNITY EXISTS TO ACHIEVE PEACEFUL INDEPENDENCE AND MAJORITY RULE. WE MUST NOT LET THAT SLIP AWAY.

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ON APRIL 27, SECRETARY VANCE MET IN WASHINGTON WITH SAM NUJOMA AND NIGERIAN FOREIGN MINISTER GARBA. ALTHOUGH SECRETARY VANCE MADE CLEAR OUR BELIEF THAT THE PROPOSAL SHOULD BE ACCEPTED, MR. NUJOMA SAID THAT SWAPO HAD MAJOR CONCERNS WITH THE PROPOSAL, COULD NOT ACCEPT IT, AND WOULD MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ALONG THAT LINE, CALLING FOR FURTHER MEETINGS.

SUCH MEETINGS WOULD SERVE NO PURPOSE. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO SATISFY BOTH SWAPO AND SOUTH AFRICA COMPLETELY AT THE SAME TIME, AND THE WESTERN FIVE HAVE NOW DONE ALL THAT IS POSSIBLE TO BRIDGE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THEM. THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE AGREED TO SWALLOW WHAT THEY REGARD AS A BITTER PILL; SWAPO ALSO MUST BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT LESS THAN IT WANTS. THAT THE PROPOSAL IS ACCEPTABLE TO MANY PEOPLE WITHIN NAMIBIA IS EVIDENCED BY THE SUPPORT BISHOP AUALA AND OTHER NAMIBIAN CHURCHMEN HAVE GIVEN IT.

I RECOGNIZE THAT THE ISSUE OF WALVIS BAY IS OF SPECIAL IMPORTANCE TO SWAPO AND OF CONCERN TO YOU AND OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS. YOU ARE AWARE OF THE STATEMENT

THE U.S. IS PREPARED TO MAKE WITH REGARD TO THE FUTURE OF WALVIS BAY IN THE EVENT SWAPO ACCEPTS THE WESTERN FIVE'S PROPOSAL. WHILE THIS DOES NOT GO AS FAR AS SWAPO WOULD LIKE, IT MAKES IT CLEAR WHERE OUR SUPPORT WILL LIE WHEN THE ISSUE IS JOINED. MOREOVER, I BELIEVE OTHER CONTACT GROUP MEMBERS WILL PUBLICLY SUBSCRIBE TO THIS POSITION.

I CANNOT OVEREMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF YOU AND YOUR COLLEAGUES' MAKING CLEAR TO SWAPO THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE WILL BEST BE SERVED BY ACCEPTANCE OF THE PROPOSAL. AS SECRETARY VANCE MADE PLAIN TO MR. NUJOMA, THE UNITED STATES IS COMMITTED TO DO ALL

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IT CAN TO ENSURE THAT ALL PARTIES WILL ENJOY FAIR CONDITIONS THROUGHOUT THE ELECTION PERIOD. THE PROPOSAL REFLECTS AN EXTRAORDINARY EFFORT BY THE WESTERN CONTACT GROUP TO HELP RESOLVE ONE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA'S PRINCIPAL PROBLEMS. IF AFRICAN STATES WERE DETERRED BY SWAPO FROM DECLARING SUPPORT FOR IT, THE RESULT WOULD BE TRAGIC. A POSITIVE RESPONSE BY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN MAY WOULD PERMIT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROPOSAL TO BEGIN, AND THIS IN TURN WOULD DECISIVELY INFLUENCE THE PROPECTS FOR PEACE IN NAMIBIA AND THE SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF OTHER SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, INCLUDING RHODESIA.

WE ARE COMMITTED TO DO ALL WE CAN TO BRING THE CONFLICT IN RHODESIA TO A NEGOTIATED, PEACEFUL RESOLUTION THAT WILL GUARANTEE A GENUINE TRANSFER TO THE MAJORITY. DESPITE PRESSURE FROM SIGNIFICANT SEGMENTS OF AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION, WE HAVE NOT ENDORSED THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. SIMILARLY, IN DAR ES SALAAM AS WELL AS IN SALISBURY WE CONTINUED TO UPHOLD THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS OF THE TRANSITION PERIOD SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO INFLUENCE THE OUTCOME OF THE ELECTIONS. IT MUST BE ACCEPTED BY ALL PARTIES THAT THE ESSENCE OF A TRANSITION ADMINISTRATION IS TRUE NEUTRALITY.

I AM DISAPPOINTED BY THE SALISBURY GROUP'S STATEMENT THAT AN ALL-PARTIES MEETING WOULD BE DOOMED TO FAIL. HOWEVER, I BELIEVE THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MAY BE SPLIT ON THIS ISSUE, AND THE STATEMENT ITSELF IS NOT, ON ITS FACE, A CATEGORICAL REJECTION OF FUTURE NEGOTIATIONS. DURING THE COMING WEEKS WE WILL CONTINUE TO REMIND  
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THEM THAT ONLY A SETTLEMENT THAT IS DEMONSTRABLY FAIR AND LETS ALL PARTIES PARTICIPATE EQUITABLY IN THE TRANSITIONAL AND ELECTORAL PROCESS CAN BE ASSURED OF RECEIVING INTERNATIONAL ACCEPTANCE.

IN ADDITION TO MAINTAINING CONTACT WITH THE SALISBURY GROUP, WE MUST ALSO BUILD UPON THE MEASURE OF PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN DAR ES SALAAM. WE RECOGNIZE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED FOR A UN PEACEKEEPING FORCE AND FOR A NEUTRAL ADMINISTRATOR WITH EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY OVER LAW AND ORDER AND DEFENSE AS IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS. HOWEVER, MANY OTHER UNRESOLVED ISSUES WARRANT FURTHER DISCUSSION. FOR EXAMPLE, I RECOGNIZE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT'S CONCERN ABOUT THE ROLE OF THE POLICE DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD, BUT I AM ALSO MINDFUL OF THE NEED TO ESTABLISH ARRANGEMENTS FOR LAW

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IN SUM, I AM NOT DISCOURAGED. SOUTH AFRICA'S ACCEPTANCE OF THE WESTERN FIVE'S PROPOSAL ON NAMIBIA LEADS ME TO BELIEVE THAT EVEN THE MOST RECALCITRANT REGIME CAN BE MADE AWARE OF THE ADVANTAGES OF INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTABLE SOLUTIONS TO DIFFICULT ISSUES.

AS YOUR VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES APPROACHES, I LOOK FORWARD TO DISCUSSING OUR MUTUAL CONCERNS PERSONALLY IN THE SAME SPIRIT OF FRANKNESS AND CORDIALITY THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED OUR CORRESPONDENCE.

SINCERELY, JIMMY CARTER END TEXT. VANCE

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /016 R

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DRAFTED BY:IO/UNA:BJSHARP

APPROVED BY:IO/UNA:FFTEFFT

S/S-O:RHART

-----124995 011853Z /45

R 011820Z MAY 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK 0000

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110019

EXDIS FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG FROM UNA

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 110019 ACTION LUSAKA APRIL 29

QUOTE C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 110019

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SINCERELY, JIMMY CARTER END TEXT. VANCE.  
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Capture Date:** 01 jan 1994  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, DIPLOMATIC COMMUNICATIONS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 29 apr 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Disposition Remarks:**  
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**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
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**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** RESPONSE TO PRESIDENT'S KAUNDA'S LETTER  
**TAGS:** PDEV, PPDC, RH, WA, (CARTER, JIMMY), (KAUNDA, KENNETH DAVID)  
**To:** LUSAKA  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
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